

432 had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili
 576 for the pig. When the feast was held, Kadecka was so
 626 ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most
 of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people
 from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter
 stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked
 by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to
 bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka
 had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the
 important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's
 action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until
 his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable
 action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public
 opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week
 later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came
 through the village, and no one expressed any regret when
 he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social
 position.

438 Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears,
 drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary,
 435 and the payments are made in public. These objects, how-
 ever, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because
 sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one
 such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a
 lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold
 because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

789 It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through
 trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit.
 • 424 But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is
 434 another story. The possession of magic is the most important
 source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful

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and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the various kinds of magic is as follows:

	<i>Tsera</i>
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Abortive magic	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new <i>uben</i> (fishing-net) ..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Magic to make a pig fat	$\frac{1}{2}$

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

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born infant strong costs two or three *tsera*. For a man with a large family this is a big expense. Tsenagali, the man who now owns this medicine, told me what a heavy expense it was for him each time his wife bore a child. He has a large family, four children, and finally he went to his wife's father, who knew the medicine, and for a payment learned it from him. After that Tsengali could make the medicine when his wife had a child. He is also now paid to make it for other people's infants. In the payment for medical services there is the same lack of the concept of a bargain, and the same desire to overpay and so gain additional prestige, as there is in trade in pigs. When Ongas' wife was ill, the "doctor" had made a spell over powdered lime and then rubbed it over her body and given it to her to smell. It was supposed to have been effective, for she recovered. Ongas made his payment in shillings to the "doctor," giving him five shillings. The latter thought this too much and wanted to return two shillings, saying that three were enough; but Ongas refused to take them back and insisted that the "doctor" keep the five shillings.¹ 757 759

Medical knowledge is guarded as secretly as are magical spells, and is regarded as a source of income in exactly the same manner. The knowledge of what leaf or root to use, together with any accompanying spell, is inherited for a payment from the maternal uncle or father, or it may be purchased purely as a trade transaction, as was Tsengali's purchase from his father-in-law. 424

¹ On the occasion of the same illness, my servant, Kuserek (from another village), had prepared a leaf medicine for the ill woman. There was no magic connected with it. Ongas wished to pay one shilling to Kuserek for it, but she refused to take it, saying that the ill woman had given her much taro in the past. Kuserek seemed to think that her medicine was a kind of payment for the past gifts of taro.

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unit, want to make a *malanggan* for Watlau, who has been 438
dead for some time. Kanot is his son and Poinbi his maternal
nephew.¹ Poinbi is the one who comes to Lesu to buy the
malanggan and attends to all the business concerning it.
Kanot goes to Tabar, where he has clan relatives, in order
to get their financial assistance for the enterprise.

In the middle of August Poinbi comes to Lesu and makes 437
arrangements to buy from Palou the right to make the 424
Puiba malanggan of the *Sasabwan* class. Palou is the leading
old man of the Sinpop clan, and learned the design and rites
connected with the *Puiba malanggan* from his maternal uncle
and grandfather. They had learned it in a dream from their
gas. Palou consents to sell it, and thus relinquishes his right
to make this particular kind of *malanggan*. It is understood
that the payments will be made when it is finished and the
rites are held.

Poinbi returns to Logagon, and a few days later the 532
making of the *malanggan* begins. All the men from Penguli 476
(Palou's hamlet) go to the bush to cut down a tree trunk;
they come back in the afternoon singing gaily as they walk
with their heavy load. There is a festive air about the be-
ginning of the undertaking. Later Palou pays them with
tobacco and coconuts. A small house is now made on the
beach near the cemetery, and Palou marks its completion
with a feast for all the men who have helped build it. He
buys a pig from Manumat for the occasion, and there are
also taro and coconuts. Palou will pay the women who have
contributed the taro after he has been paid by Poinbi at
the conclusion of the rites.

Kanua, the skilled carver of Lesu, now begins to work. 532
Palou pays him one *tsera* in advance, and sits with him in
the little house, showing him how to carve the *malanggan*.

¹ There is thus a contradiction here—a clan and a non-clan relative
co-operating to make a *malanggan* for the same dead person. This is one
of the exceptions always occurring in any functioning society.

SEXUAL LIFE

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so also do they swear by the ability of the rain magician to make rain. The women are very sure of the power of the abortive leaves, and, as far as I know, no physical means of abortion is used. The knowledge of these sterility and abortive leaves is zealously guarded by those who know about them. They are usually men who have received the knowledge from their maternal uncle, or some other relative. This knowledge, like all medical and magical information, is a source of income, for when a man is requested to procure the leaves he is paid for his services. 842
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It is of interest to learn why some women, even though they are in the minority, should want to be sterile or to have abortions. In discussing it the women are sometimes quite vague, merely saying that they or some other women do not want children because they do not want them, and, with a shrug of the shoulder, let it go at that. However, there are others who are more definite. Fear of pain at birth is one reason for not wanting a child, and one woman who had had one child told me that she then ate the sterility leaves because she did not want to go through the birth pains again. Several other women told me they did not want children because it interfered with their dancing, which forms so large a part of ritual life, and which they so thoroughly enjoy. Still another reason advanced was that it interfered with their having sexual relations.¹ No woman would ever admit this as her own reason, but some of them gave it to me as the motive for other women not wishing children. These were the only three reasons for not desiring children that I was able to secure, and it must be remembered that these women were in the minority. The larger number of women said that they had never eaten sterility or abortive leaves, and had no desire to. As has already

¹ This refers to the taboo on intercourse during pregnancy and the nursing period. One man said he did not want his wife to have children because of the restraint it put on his sexual life.

KNOWLEDGE, MAGIC, AND RELIGION

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The *malanggans* vary in appearance; some are the figure of one man, while others are intricate carvings containing the figures of several people, each one representing a dead clan relative. Still others have various birds, fish, and snakes on them. The animals used seem to be merely familiar ones of the environment, and without any totemic significance. Another kind, such as the *Warawara*, is finely decorative, with the *kepkep* (breast ornament) in the centre. Each *malanggan* will also be known as a male or female one. They are usually brightly painted, red and yellow being the dominant colours. A photograph facing page 120 shows one of them.

The right to make each *malanggan* is owned by an individual, usually an important old man of a clan. The other members of his clan are considered as part-owners with him, and would be reimbursed at a sale of one. The old man is more a custodian. He may sell this privilege to another person, and the individual making the sale loses the right to make this particular *malanggan*, and he must therefore later buy the right to make another one. The description of one such sale has already been described.¹ It was a big economic transaction, and one of the main ways in which large amounts of currency pass from one group to another.

The *malanggan* is made by a skilled carver, who is paid for his services. The clan owner sits beside him and shows him the design. The work is always done in a small house erected for the purpose, and only the male clan owners of the *malanggan* besides the carver are allowed to enter it. The house is destroyed after the work is finished.

Myths about the origin of different *malanggans* give the source as a dream. For instance, in the myth of the origin of the *Walik malanggan*, a man named Lunguma, who lived in Tabar, fell asleep while he was working in his garden. While asleep his *gas* appeared in a dream and showed him

¹ See pp. 210-224.

765 act of dancing and the symbol, or what the dancing represents.
535 While dance rehearsals are taboo in the period immediately preceding death and in the period following death, dancing is part of the burial rites, participated in by the whole community, and represents an outward expression of their feelings aroused by the death. But the dance rehearsals have no connection with death (they may be rehearsals for circumcision, marriage, or some other rite) and as such have no psychological association with the recent event and would mar the continuum of expressed community feeling after a burial.

769 The years following the death are marked by the making of a
532 *malangon* and the giving of many feasts. The *malangon* is an
778 elaborate carving which varies in size and design. The carvings are divided into a number of large classifications, each of which is subdivided into smaller groups, and each division large and small has its own name. On a large number of them there is a figure for each dead relative for whom the *malangon* is made, and sharks, birds, and fish are frequent in the design. There are also other carvings on which no figure of the dead relative occurs. The right to make a *malangon* is owned by a clan, which can sell the right to another clan. The original owner then loses the right to make it and must buy the right to make a different *malangon* from another clan. When the *malangon* is made and displayed, there are elaborate rites continuing for months and including dancing, feasts and special rites, which vary according to each particular *malangon*.

769 The *malangon* is usually made by a maternal nephew or by a
532 son, if the dead person is a woman.¹¹ Occasionally other close clan
554 relatives may make one too. The time for the *malangon* rites may
778 be a year after death, or it may be five years after death. The time depends on how long it takes to collect the wealth necessary for holding the rites. Frequently one carving will be made for several dead relatives at one time. As far as the writer was able to ascertain, the making of the *malangon* and the rites concerning it

¹¹The clan relative does not actually make the *malangon* but pays a skilled carver to make it according to his directions.